



650 *Seventeenth Chapter, in which it is told how the Spaniards took Moctezuma with them as they went into the great palace; and what there happened.*

And when they had gone on to reach and enter the palace, forthwith they seized Moctezuma and kept him under guard,<sup>1</sup> never letting him from their sight, and with him Itzquauhtzin.<sup>2</sup> But the others only ran away.

And when this had come to pass, then the guns shot off. All flew into disorder, ran off to one side, jostled from view [as the guns] flashed and spouted sparks.<sup>3</sup> All were as if stricken, drunk, as if all had looked upon [evil]. Fear reigned, as if everyone had lost heart. Even before it grew dark, all huddled in frightened, awed, and thunderstruck groups. All slept in terror.

And when dawn broke, all the things which [the Spaniards] needed were proclaimed [by the crier]: white tortillas, roasted birds, eggs, fresh water, wood—wood for burning, charcoal; earthen vessels—polished ones, water jars small and large, skillets, all [manner of] earthen vessels. [For] in truth [as] Moctezuma had commanded.

And when he summoned the noblemen, they defied him. They were wroth; they would not come to him; they would not go there. He was not listened to. But although not left at his feet,<sup>4</sup> all was given that [the Spaniards] needed—food, drink, chocolate, and fodder for deer.

652 And when [the Spaniards] were settled, they thereupon inquired of Moctezuma as to all the treasure of the city—the devices, the shields. Much did they tax him; with great zeal they demanded gold. And Moctezuma, upon this, proceeded to lead the Spaniards, who went surrounding and crowding about him as he went among them. He went at their head; they advanced with hands laid upon him, taking hold of him. And when they had as-

inje cartelli onome capitulo: vncan mjtea in quenja Españoles qujvicatitque Motecucuma injc calaqujto vei tepal: ycan in tlein vmpa mochiuh.

Auh in oscito tepan, in calaqujto: çan njman vel quixiziqujque, vel quixixtinxenca, amo conajucacaa in Motecucuma, in nehoan Itzquauhtzin: aul in oc cequjntin çan calaqujque.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ie uevertz in in tlequjxiztli, iuhqujn tlayxneliuj, avic viioa, tlaymoiooa, tlachichitoca, iuhqujn tlicaca, çan oqu iuhqujn netequjpacbolo, iuhqujn nenanacavilo, iuhqujn tlen mach onnetitilo, maujxtli oonoc, iuhqujn mochi tlatcatl qujtollo yillo: çanoc iuh onizac, nemamahtilotoc neihçavilotoc, necujcujtuechotoc, necochmahtilotoc.

Auh in otlatic, njman ie ic motzatzilia in jxqujch itech monequj, in itzac tlaxcalli, totollaleotzalli, totoltecl, chipacac atl, in quaujcl, in datlatilquaujcl, in tecolli, in spaxtli, in petacxatcl, in apilloli, in tzoocolli, in datzoionjicxatcl, in ie ixqujch in çoqujtlatqujtl: ichaat vel danaoceteca in Motecucumatzin.

Auh in qujnoalnoczaia pipiliti, aocmo qujtlatcama-tia, ça quallanj, aocmo iujc qujça, aocmo ivic qujça, aocmo iujc omuj, aocmo mocaquj: auh tel amo icxiz cacalo, maco in jxqujch itech monequj in qualonj, in joalonj, iuan in atl, in maçatlaçilli.

Auh in no vel mortalique: njmā ie ic qujntemolia in Motecucumatzin in jxqujch in jeczō in altepetl, in tlayxtli, in çhimalli, oocca qujmatetqujllia, oca qujmaujntezin in tencujdatl. Auh in Motecucumatzin: njman ie ic qujnicastituh in Españoles, colohujonj, qujpeçojituj, inoçpocda iconuh, tlayac icatuh, qujtixiziqujtonj, çanchoj. Auh in onacque in tlachicalli: itocaocan, tencalco: njman ie ic cal-lapixtli in jxqujch in petacocl, in quetzalapan-

1. *Comentarios de Sahagún, la Crónica de Moctezuma Segunda Crónica Tlaxcala Crónica del Museo Nacional de Antropología y Etnografía, 1946, Chapter XXIV, describes this narrative with much color and detail.*

2. *Comentarios de Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text).*

3. *See Sahagún, op. cit., p. 294, n. 1.*

4. *Sahagún (op. cit., p. 295) omits the phrase or omits to translate—it was not therefore ignored.*

652 lived at the treasure house, called Tzucalen,<sup>5</sup> thereupon were brought out all the brilliant goods—the quetzal feather head fan, the devices, the shields, the golden discs, the devils' necklaces, golden nose crosses, golden leg bands,<sup>6</sup> golden arm bands, golden head bands.

Thereupon was the gold torn from the shields and from all the devices; and as all the gold was detached, they then burned—set fire to and consumed in flames—all the various precious things [from which the gold was taken]. It all burned. And the gold the Spaniards melted into bars. And of the green stone, as much as was good to their eyes they took. And the rest of the green stone the men of Tlaxcala stole. And [the Spaniards] walked everywhere; they went digging into every place—where things were hidden, storage rooms, where things were guarded. They took all, all which they saw to be good.

cañal, in thejatl, in chinalli, in tescuplacanalli in incoquej diablosse, tescuplacanameratl, in tescuplacanacatl, in tescuplacanacatl, in tescuplacanacatl:

njman le ic tlaxcaltecalo in jech chinalli in tescuplacatl: yon in jech in jupquej tlaxcaltecalo: suh inic muchi omocoleuh in tescuplacatl, le ic omlacavla, cōtloquechia, contemjina in iquijch nepapan tlaxcaltecalo muchi tlaxcal. Auh in tescuplacatl quijacantecaque in Españoles: suh in tlaxcaltecalo in quijacantecaque quijacantecaque, quijacantecaque: suh in oc cequej tlaxcaltecalo, çan quijacantecaque in tlaxcaltecalo: yon novil nenque, quijacantecaque in novil tlaxcaltecalo, tlaxcaltecalo, tlaxcaltecalo, muchi quijacantecaque in jupquej in quijacantecaque, in quijacantecaque.

5. The Spanish text of Chapters 16 and 17 refers to the same ruler, presumably the brother of the Tzucalen.  
6. Tescuplacanacatl should be read.

423 But on the other hand there were others which were not or appeared  
794 not to be in the same condition, since in these the priests functioned  
793 as mayordomos (38) and had tenants and neighbors who gave tribute

38. Clavigero, I, p. 281.

only to the temples (39). Perhaps this means that they were calpullis

39. Roman, I, p. 120.

or tlaxilacallis whose lords were priests. Reinforcing this assertion is the fact that these people were differentiated from others and felt it to be an honor to be occupied in that employment (40), somewhat

40. Torquemada, II, p. 165.

similarly to what happened in the case of the tecpantlacas. What we can deduce from all the above, anyway, is that in order to speak of the lands of the Temples one takes as criterion the tribute and not the direct utilization of the land by the priests. Furthermore we can ascertain from our data that the calpulli was an organism basic to the existence of these lands in their particular distribution: each calpulli giving a part of its products, or entire calpullis dedicating themselves to giving tribute exclusively for the sustenance of the religious needs. In some cases these were towns removed from the city proper which were tributary to the temples and which alternated each half year (41). But we do not know what happened during the

41. Torquemada, II, p. 164.

half year when they did not give tribute to the temples. It may be that they continued with their calpulli organization and perhaps only gave tribute to their lords.

423 Something similar to that which occurred with the lands of the  
652 temples happened with the lands for war, or yaotlallis, which had various names according to the products which they yielded, cacalomilli, milchimalli (42) and which were "for /p. 43/ food

42. Vetancourt, I, p. 372.

423 rations during periods of war" (43). In part they were lands distrib-

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43. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

uted "in calpullis and wards according to the number of people there were in each district" (44), possibly of the city proper. These lands

44. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

were to be found also in conquered areas, since we are told that Moctezuma had in all the towns lands marked out which they sowed for him, as for the temples, and whose produce they brought to Tenochtitlan—if there was no garrison—or the garrison ate it, and if they did not sow, they fed them [the garrison] at any rate (45).

45. Oviedo, III, p. 537.

Thus they appear to be simply lands of the calpullis the tribute from which was destined for the sustenance of warriors and for the needs of war. There is however a reference which apparently contradicts the above, although it is possible that it only supplements it: we are told that these lands for war were on the boarder lines and belonged to no one, nor did anybody inherit them, they being occupied and kept up by the chief who was promoting the war (46). This

46. Anonymous. Relation [Relacion], 1554?  
p. 145.

appears to mean that the tribute from these lands was not inherited by a determined person but was given over to whoever was the war-chief. Indeed they were occupied by common laborers but their tribute was given to the chief of the armies for the needs of war. The reference to their being on the boarder lines may mean that they bordered on conquered land. The possibility that the characteristic of this type of land was that it was destined solely for tribute could be reinforced with the data of Ixtlilxóchitl where [one finds that] in the lands of conquered lords and subjects there were other kinds of land divisions which were called laotlalli (sic. Yaotlalli), which were gained through wars, and of these the greater part belonged to the three heads of the empire one of whom was

423 the war chief; and the rest was given and distributed to the lords and  
 652 citizens who had aided with their persons and vassals in the conquest  
 of such towns gained in war and this most of the time came to be a  
 third of the conquered towns or provinces (47). According to the

47. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

above it appears that the criterion for characterizing this type of land ownership was the ownership of tribute since they were in reality lands of the calpullis like the rest.

423 We are told of another type of land: the tecuhtlalli (the lands of  
 the tecuhtlis). To elucidate what this means we have three references: one, that on these lands the rulers and lords sheltered those who came fleeing from other towns and provinces (48); another, that

48. Annunciation [Anunciación], p. 238.

each Indian lord on his land /p. 44/.....

[Missing section of text. Translator].....

... when people came to it to settle from other parts and to those that were settled they gave land on which to sow, marked "that everyone might know the lands he is to sow, and most of them have their house on the inheritance which they consider their own" (49).

49. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

According to this all the lands which gave tribute to the tecuhtlis appear to be called tecuhtlalli but their organization may have been in calpullis if the arrived settlers remained together with those who were already settled. One has to think, this possibility notwithstanding, that population immigrations were not always of peoples forming calpullis nor that they organized themselves into calpullis upon becoming established. It could well be that part of these lands were those they called tlatocamilli, of which it is said they were 400 units in length and width, that they were leased, and that the rent was eaten and consumed in the house of the ruler (50), and they

797 already understood something of the language, and Montezuma gave his permission and ordered us to be supplied with all the material we needed. In two days we had our church finished and the holy cross set up in front of our apartments, and Mass was said there every day until the wine gave out. As Cortés and some of the other Captains and the Friar had been ill during the war in Tlaxcala, they made the wine that we had for Mass go too fast, but after it was all finished we [still] went to the church daily and prayed on our knees before the altar and images, for one reason, because we were obliged to do so as Christians and it was a good habit, and for another reason, in order that Montezuma and all his Captains should observe it, and should witness our adoration and see us on our knees before the Cross, especially when we intoned the Ave Maria, so that it might incline them towards it.

- 652 When we were all assembled in those chambers, as it was our habit to inquire into and want to know everything, while we were looking for the best and most convenient site to place the altar, two of our soldiers, one of whom was a carpenter, named Alonzo Yañes, noticed on one of the walls marks showing that there had been a door there, and that it had been closed up and carefully plastered over and burnished. Now as there was a rumour and we had heard the story that Montezuma kept the treasure of his father Axayaca in that building, it was suspected that it might be in this chamber which had been closed up and cemented only a few days before. Yañes spoke about it to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo, who were Captains and relations of mine, and Alonzo Yañes had attached himself to their company as a servant, and those Captains told the story to Cortés, and the door was secretly opened. When it was open Cortés and some of his Captains went in first, and they saw such a

## TREASURE OF AXAYACA.

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number of jewels and slabs and plates of gold and chalchihuites and other great riches, that they were quite carried away and did not know what to say about such wealth. The news soon spread among all the other Captains and soldiers, and very secretly we went in to see it. When I saw it I marvelled, and as at that time I was a youth and had never seen such riches as those in my life before, I took it for certain that there could not be another such store of wealth in the whole world. It was decided by all our captains and soldiers, that we should not dream of touching a particle of it, but that the stones should immediately be put back in the doorway and it should be sealed up and cemented just as we found it, and that it should not be spoken about, lest it should reach Montezuma's ears, until times should alter. 652 ●

Let us leave this about the riches, and say that as we had such valiant captains and soldiers of good counsel and judgment, (and first of all we all believed for certain that our Lord Jesus Christ held His Divine hand over all our affairs,) four of our captains took Cortés aside in the church, with a dozen soldiers in whom he trusted and confided, and I was one of them, and we asked him to look at the net and trap in which we found ourselves, and to consider the great strength of that city, and observe the causeways and bridges, and to think over the words of warning that we had been given in all the towns we had passed through, that Montezuma had been advised by his Huichilobos to allow us to enter into the city, and when we were there, to kill us. That he [Cortés] should remember that the hearts of the men are very changeable, especially those of Indians, and he should not repose trust in the good will and affection that Montezuma was showing us, for at some time or other, when the wish occurred to him, he would order us to be attacked, and by the stoppage of our supplies of food or of water, or by the raising of 000